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ABSTRACT

Perspectives concerning the application of adult development theory to the education of college students are presented in two papers. In "Adult Development: A Workable Vision for Higher Education," Arthur W. Chickering suggests that the major dimensions of adult development are essentially the same objectives pursued by the university, and that by addressing these adult development dimensions current social needs can be better approached. It is further proposed that taking adult development as an organizing purpose will strengthen the integration of career education and liberal learning, theory and practice, and community resources and extracurricular activities with academic studies. Research results are cited that indicate changes in political and social beliefs and in academic preferences and concerns after college study. In "Faculty and Student Development in the 80's: Renewing the Community of Scholars," L. Lee Knefelkamp suggests that student development theory can become a common purpose unifying all segments of the university. Different development theories and their particular advantages when applied to understanding college students are summarized. Among these are William Perry's theory of the intellectual and cognitive development of students in college. (SW)

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Current Issues In Higher Education

Integrating Adult Development Theory with Higher Education Practice

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The papers presented at that meeting form the basis for this publication. These papers were reviewed by a committee of AAHE members and 17 were selected for publication in this series. They have been grouped into six volumes published serially. Each volume focuses on one aspect of the quality improvement problem: improving teaching; the role of two external agencies; declining faculty salaries; new models for general education; the contributions of adult development theory; and national, state, and institutional strategies for retrenchment.

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Integrating Adult Development Theory With Higher Education Practice

page

Adult Development: A Workable Vision for Higher Education 1
Arthur W. Chickering

Faculty and Student Development in the 80's: Renewing the Community of Scholars 13
L. Lee Knefelkamp

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Foreword

The two papers in this monograph were part of a track of sessions at the 1980 AAHE National Conference focused on the subject of student development. They advocate improving quality in education by improving the application of adult development theory to the education of students.

Arthur W. Chickering's paper focuses on the question of whether adult development can provide a unifying framework for higher education. The idea is not new, he points out, citing Cardinal Newman; what's different is the opportunity to organize traditional college missions in ways that apply the development research to classroom and extracurricular resources for students. And, if a college pays close attention to its impact on students, it can create conditions to induce desired changes, in areas such as autonomy, creativity, and complexity of thought.

L. Lee Knefelkamp arrives at a similar conclusion: student development theory can become a common purpose unifying all segments of the university. Knefelkamp summarizes different development theories and their particular advantages when applied to understanding college students; and she details William Perry's theory of the intellectual and cognitive development of students in college. She argues that the understanding student needs provided by these theories can offer a new sense of purpose to fragmented institutions.

Adult Development: A Workable Vision for Higher Education

Arthur W. Chickering

I appreciate the chance to share with you my thinking about some questions that have plagued me for most of my professional life. These questions are shared by a growing number of persons concerned about higher education, its role, and its future. Although I certainly don't presume to speak for anyone other than myself, I am pleased to have this opportunity to contribute to this growing dialogue.

My basic question is, "Can our growing knowledge about adult development provide an organizing purpose, a unifying vision, for higher education? For me, this general question involves some "should we" issues and some "can we" issues. I have three "should we" questions: "Is the intentional encouragement of adult development an appropriate role for higher education, consistent with its historical purposes and traditions?" "Is such an organizing purpose responsive to current social needs?" "Would such a framework be functional in addressing some of the major problems facing higher education itself?" I also have two "can we" questions: "Do college environments and educational experiences have sufficient power to influence adult development?" "If so, do we know enough to try to create those conditions intentionally?"

Today, given the social forces pushing toward the knowledge society and life-long learning, and the well known statistics concerning the current and future age distribution of the population, those questions have become pertinent to many colleges and universities throughout the country. Before I proceed however, I want to be explicit about my personal posture toward these issues. Hegel, in his *Philosophy of Universal History*, says that passion is responsible for all significant historical accomplishments. But he emphasizes *cool passion*. Frenzied, unbridled passion, whether in love or work, seldom serves us well. Indeed, it often harms more than helps. To be enflamed, carried away, by an affection, ideology, or cause, is easy. Maintaining a steady fire, which is critical as well as creative, is more difficult, especially when it suffers frequent doses of icy logic and frigid resistance. Unbridled passion shrinks from reflective thought, public scrutiny, and tough-minded testing. Creative passion seeks fulfillment by joining the forces of belly and brain, heart and mind, commitment and critical analyses. Such passion pursues its purposes with tenuous tenacity.

I believe it's that tone and orientation we need. Many of us share a passionate concern for higher education, its purposes and practices, its social roles and contributions. Yet we seek to create the future with clear eyes on current realities and past experiences.

Arthur W. Chickering is distinguished professor of higher education and director of the Center for the Study of Higher Education, Memphis State University.

Now let me turn to the "should we" questions. First, as to the traditional role and purposes of higher education, I offer this passage from Cardinal Newman's historically significant *Idea of a University*, published in 1852:

> *A university training . . . aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration . . . at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life. It gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophisticated, and to discard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility. It shows him how to accommodate himself to others, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them. He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class; he knows when to speak and when to be silent; he is able to converse, he is able to listen; he can ask a question pertinently and gain a lesson seasonably when he has nothing to impart himself . . . he is a pleasant companion and a comrade you can depend upon. . . . He has a repose of a mind which lives in itself, while it lives in the world, and which has resources for its happiness at home when it cannot go abroad. (pp. 177-8)*

That paragraph is hard to match for eloquence. Take it apart and you have a full statement of mission and a detailed curriculum. Furthermore, it addresses the most significant dimensions of adult development and lists the key objectives of liberal education. Let me make some connections between Newman's words and our more impoverished jargon.

- Read "a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them," and we have ethical development and integrity.
- Read "to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophisticated, and to discard what is irrelevant," and we have critical thinking skills—analysis, synthesis, and evaluation—those higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives in the Cognitive Domain.
- "To fill any post with credit and to master any subject with facility," gives us professional or vocational development. "He is at home in any society, he has a common ground with every class" speaks to interdependence and humanitarian concern.
- "How to accommodate himself to others, throw himself into their state of mind, bring before them his own, come to an understanding, bear with them," gives us the major elements of interpersonal competence, empathy, understanding, and cooperation with others.
- "A pleasant companion and a comrade you can depend on" proposes a capacity for intimacy which goes beyond mere tolerance and competence.
- And, finally, "a repose of mind which lives in itself, while it lives in the world" refers to our basic sense of identity.

My point is that the major dimensions of adult development are essentially the same objectives as those extolled by Newman, and by many others since then, set forth ubiquitously in our bulletins and mission statements. "Intellectual competence," "interpersonal competence," "moral and ethical development," "humanitarian concern," "capacity for intimacy," "professional/vocational development," are simply social-science terms for values and purposes espoused through history by colleges and universities and by those who speak for them. They do not represent dramatic departures from the mission and role of the university.

But are these traditional purposes responsive to our current social needs? In my view, these major dimensions of adult development have become critically important. In the Third World, with a few exceptions, the poor are getting poorer and the hungry hungrier. The number of countries with known nuclear capability has increased from six to 30. Key non-renewable resources will not last forever. Resource wars employing not only food and energy but also manganese, tungsten, tin, and other scarce minerals necessary for our current high technologies are no longer far-out fantasies. Oil and corn already have become weapons. The known supplies, use rates, and patterns of world-wide distribution spell out potential for coercion and conflict unthought of 50 years ago. In historical terms, the deadline for high levels of international collaboration and tough tradeoffs is racing toward us. When that time arrives, national autonomy will have to be compromised as it never has been before. Self-sacrifice by the "haves" will need to go beyond token contributions of a benevolent Santa Claus to levels of sharing that will affect the living standards of each person in the "developed" world.

But we don't need to think globally to recognize the importance of these major dimensions of adult development. Consider simply the basics of population density, technological complexity, and human interaction. In Colonial America the average population density was one person per square mile. That put 314 persons in a circle 20 miles in diameter—within a good day's walk—with the chance of human contact of 313 to 1. The opportunities for interpersonal encounter and exchange of information were limited. Today, Chicago has a population density of more than 10,000 persons per square mile. Inside a 20-mile circle the opportunities for human contact are more than three million to one. These densities make many kinds of people rub against each other: rich and poor, blacks and whites, latinos and anglos, rednecks and hippies, blue collars and white collars. The fights for the five-o'clock subway, where the conductor, like a blocking back, crams two more commuters into the car so the door can close, or the battles for the fast lane on the "freeway" are only part of our daily rounds.

These rounds are supported by complex arrangements for housing, transportation, heat, light, food, waste collection, fire protecton, and other basic necessities. Such conditions put power for disruption in the hands of each person and each special-interest group. A five-day railroad or truck strike slows the nation to a walk. A monkey wrench or human error in the electrical power system blacks out five states. These and other complex interdependencies require entirely new levels of competence, understanding, perspective, tolerance, and social responsibility for all of us.

We increasingly realize that some progress in these areas is becoming critical to our individual and collective well-being. But we also recognize growing gaps between the rhetoric and the reality of our institutions, between our aspirations for our graduates and what is actually achieved as they function as workers, citizens, family members, and friends. My second point, therefore, is that by addressing these dimensions of adult development we can narrow that gap and make fundamental contributions to current social needs. Such outcomes do not

occur automatically as a byproduct of business-as-usual, focused only on developing traditional academic or professional skills. The need to be more explicit, more sophisticated, more directly devoted to such ends has become apparent. We can ignore those needs. We can take the cash and let the rhetoric go. Or we can put our muscle where our mouth is and tackle these critical needs forthrightly.

My third "should we" question is, "Would explicit attention to adult development also address some of the major problems facing higher education itself: the intergration of theory and practice, the use of community and extracurricular resources for learning, the integration of career education and liberal learning, and the difficulties of individual and institutional self-renewal in a 'no-growth' decade?"

When I put research and theory concerning adult development against current thinking in these areas, I get a picture of complementarity and synergy rather than contradictions and trade-offs. The educational content and processes that address life-cycle tasks and encourage development also turn out to strengthen our capacity to integrate theory and practice, community and campus, curricular and extracurricular, career education and liberal learning. They contribute to individual and institutional self-renewal. I have found David Kolb's "experiential learning theory" to be a very useful conceptual framework for thinking about effective integration of theory and practice. It combines two major dimensions: concrete experience and abstract conceptualization, active experimentation and reflective observation, and posits a cycle which can be used to describe or analyze various kinds of learning and human development. The basic notion is that one starts with concrete experiences, observes and reflects on them, develops generalizations or abstract principles, which are then applied in action, generating a new set of concrete experiences, and so on. That process does not always have to start with concrete experiences but may begin at other points on the cycle. We may, for example, be ruminating about some long-past experience or experiment and suddenly see it in an entirely new light that causes us to revise our generalizations. Or a new concept may cause us to revise and retest a long-held principle. When all four elements are employed in systematic fashion, learning is substantially strengthened.

It turns out that when we examine the conditions for growth in ethical and intellectual development, interpersonal competence, humanitarian concern, professional/vocational development, we find the same ingredients called for. Development in these areas essentially occurs through recurrent cycles of challenge and response, differentiation and integration, disequilibrium and equilibrium. Thus Kolb's experiential learning cycle also describes basic processes for adult development. And thus learning experiences that thoughtfuly integrate the various elements of that cycle can generate increased power for developmental outcomes, as well as for the more immediate instrumental objectives of the particular course or professional development activity.

Kolb's concepts also provide a good framework for thinking about more effective use of community and "extracurricular" resources for integrating theory and practice. Environments and activities in those two large arenas provide a rich array of concrete experiences and opportunities for active experimentation which can complement the reflective observations and abstract conceptualizations supplied by lectures, group discusssions, journals, readings, synthetic or analytic papers, and our other well-developed academic tools. Much of this already occurs through internships, practica, field studies, and the like. And we recognize that many extracurricular activities—working on a campus newspaper, getting involved in governance activities, participating in various clubs and cultural

activities, dealing with friends and subcultures—all can contribute to both academic studies and professional preparation. At the same time these experiences contribute to several major dimensions of student development. Indeed for traditional-college-age students the evidence indicates that participation in various kinds of extracurricular and residence hall activities is more powerfully related to developmental change than academic studies. But we still have a long way to go in most disciplines and professional preparation areas if we are to achieve a thoughtful application of the elements described by Kolb's experiential learning theory, or other similar conceptual frameworks. As we achieve better interaction of theory and practice we also will strengthen our capacity to encourage adult development.

We know, too, that professional and vocational competence is strengthened when it is accompanied by higher levels of intellectual competence, by challenges that ask students to do more than get the right words in rote order. We know that most people are fired or shelved, not because they lack the knowledge and skill to do a job, but because they cannot function effectively with their fellow workers. Interpersonal competence is a critical ingredient for most work settings and most careers. It is becoming especially important as service occupations rapidly outstrip farming, mining, and manufacturing. We know that the most satisfying and productive careers are achieved when people become identified with purposes larger than themselves, which become more important than individual success, status, or financial gain; when they achieve the kind of self-extension involved in the recognition of interdependence and in the development of identity and humanitarian concern. Thus the educational activities that contribute to these major dimensions of adult development, these major elements of liberal education, also contribute fundamental ingredients necessary for career education and professional/vocational success.

Individual and institutional self-renewal is easily achieved under conditions of rapid growth and expansion. Indeed it is hard to avoid when external forces drive institutions toward more diverse and complex services and drive those who staff them toward more wide-ranging responsibilities. Opportunities for challenge and response, for increased differentiation of curricula, institutional missions, learning resources, student personnel activities, community services, are thrust upon us.

But as no-growth conditions set in, those external stimuli drop away. Can research and theory concerning the life cycle and adult development help? I think so, although now we are on relatively uncharted ground and sandy soil. A growing number of practitioners and writers concerned with professional and organizational development are postulating clear linkages—to use a favorite term—between adult development theory and effective attacks on individual professional development as well as on institutional change and self-renewal.

One of the basic principles is that individual professional development cannot be limited simply to particular professional/vocational knowledge or competence. To be effective it must also address more fundamental life-cycle challenges and developmental tasks. When individual professional development is rooted in these more fundamental concerns, increased motivation, sustained effort, and more effective acquisition of new knowledge and skills occurs. This orientation then creates a foundation for institutional development that multiplies the range of new challenges, the opportunities for increased differentiation of intra-institutional roles and responsibilities, and thus provides greater possibilities for continued development and satisfaction among administrators, faculty members, and non-teaching professionals. Therefore, although we are still short

on solid evidence, there are very likely to be synergistic relationships between increased attention to research and theory concerning adult development, and more effective conditions for individual and institutional self-renewal.

In general then, my answers to the "should we" questions are positive. Intentional efforts to encourage adult development are consistent with the traditional missions of colleges and universities. Those major dimensions of adult development are critically important to current social conditions, which will become more pressing in the future. Taking adult development as an organizing purpose will strengthen our ability to integrate career education and liberal learning, theory and practice, community resources and extracurricular activities with academic studies. And by doing so we also increase our prospects for sustaining individual and institutional self-renewal under "no-growth" conditions.

Now let me turn to the "can we" questions. Do college environments and educational experiences have sufficient power to make a difference? Do we know enough to create such conditions intentionally? The answer to the first question is Yes. There is solid evidence that differences in educational practices and institutional environments can make a difference in student development. A very substantial body of research reaching back to the 1920's supports this position, and these findings have recently been augmented by the research of Heath at Haverford, and by David McClelland's studies of two- and four-year institutions.

The first point is that changes in student development have been found to occur in several major areas for a wide range of students in very diverse types of institutions. These areas include not only intellectual competence and increased skills in disciplines and professions, but also changes in ethical development, integrity, autonomy, identity, interpersonal competence and capacity for intimacy, and clarity of purpose. These changes occurred among "authoritarian" students attending highly structured institutions with many rules and regulations, where faculty and staff kept a close eye on students. And they occurred among "anti-authoritarians" in loosely structured institutions where rules and regulations were few and where students' self-determination was very high.

But underneath these general shifts there are substantial institutional differences. Perhaps I can best illustrate that by looking at some specific items and at the institutional variability associated with them. Figure 1 illustrates the change in the political and social beliefs of students over their four-year college career. It shows that, on the average, the percentages of students who agree that government should have the right to prohibit meetings, that police are unduly hampered by being required to have a search warrant, and that individual liberties are not possible in socialist countries dropped substantially. Higher proportions agreed initially that conscientious objectors should be excused from military service, and thus there was no average change on that item.

Figure 2, however, demonstrates the variability among institutions. The freshman average is a base line and the senior average is the solid line below. Note the institutional differences represented by the individual circles. On the socialist-country item there were three colleges where the change was minimal and two colleges that registered 30 and 40% change. The institutional differences concerning conscientious objectors are more interesting and illustrate how misleading average figures can be. Note that although six institutions huddled around the base line showing almost no change, in three the proportions agreeing *dropped* 15 to 25% and in three the proportions *increased* 10 to 25%. Thus, although the average shows little change, in half the institutions fairly substantial positive or negative changes occurred, but the contrary directions balanced each other.

Figure 1: Four-year change in political and social beliefs

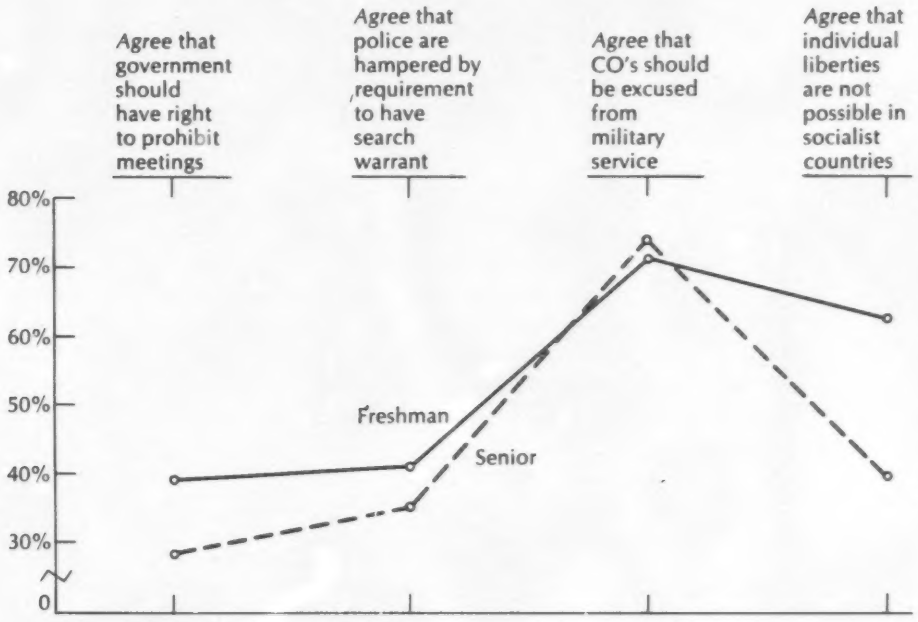
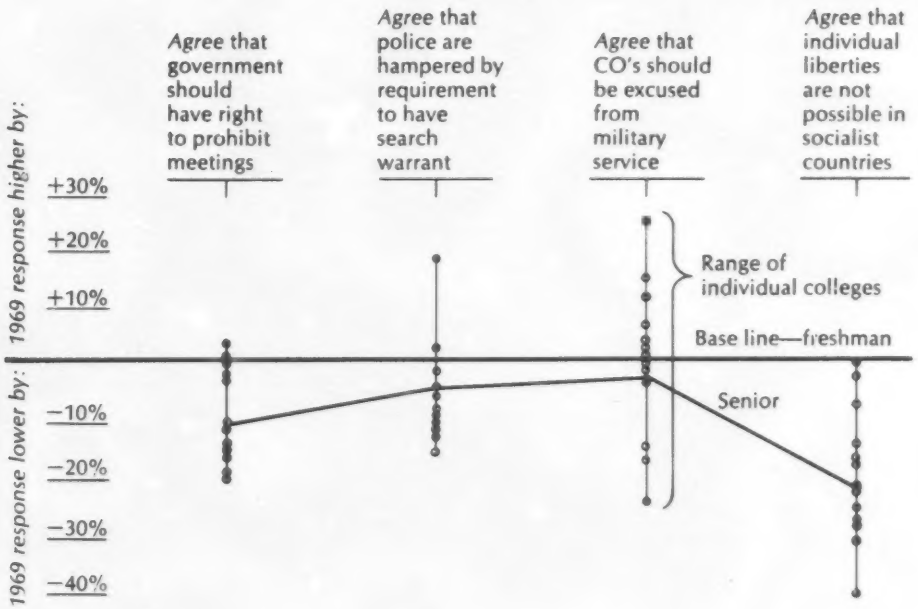


Figure 2: Increase or decrease of 1969 responses compared with 1965 responses in "political and social beliefs"



Figures 3 and 4 show the results of a survey on academic preferences and concerns, again comparing shifts in students' views over four years. Figure 3 shows the switch from substantial concern with grades and comparative progress, and lesser interest in independent work and freedom in choosing courses, to just the opposite orientation. In this case, the basic trends apply to all colleges but nevertheless, Figure 4 displays the large variation among institutions.

These examples illustrate three points. First, it's possible to get fairly concrete information about changes in political and social beliefs, orientations toward academic concerns, changing family dynamics and personal relationships, and a wide range of other areas relevant to adult development and to aims of liberal education. Second, even when general trends may exist across diverse institutions and students, there usually exists substantial variability among institutions depending upon the general area or the item. And third, by looking at the interactions among different items, it is possible to move to fairly complex inferences about how different areas of change seem to be interrelated.

So far then, I've claimed that (1) changes in major dimensions of student development do occur during the college years, and (2) colleges differ in their impact on those changes. But do we know enough to create conditions that will invite or encourage such change? In my judgment we do, at least in a general way. Those conditions are not particularly complicated or esoteric. Most of them you are already aware of because they are simply consistent with what we know about educationally powerful activities and environments.

Some of my own research concerns variables associated with changes in autonomy, impulse expression, and complexity. (By the way, these relationships are consistent with those found in a number of other similar studies.) The findings show that in colleges where lectures predominated, autonomy, impulse expression, and complexity increased less. Where students argued openly with one another and with the instructor, and where students more often participated in making decisions about course content and procedures, autonomy, impulse expression, and complexity increased more. At colleges where teachers typically lectured in class, the students usually invested substantially more of their class preparation time in memorizing than in other more complex mental activities; thus, memorizing also is negatively associated with the three factors mentioned. On the other hand, positive association was found with the amount of time invested in higher-level study activities—interpreting and drawing inferences, applying concepts to new problems or situations, analyzing material to detect relationships, etc. Where the predominant reasons for study were intrinsic—interest or enjoyment, concern over the questions involved, a desire to broaden the pool of general knowledge—there were greater increases in autonomy, impulse expression, and complexity; where extrinsic reasons were primary—getting a good grade, fulfilling a requirement for graduation—the pattern of change was the reverse.

To summarize: when most class time is devoted to lectures, when preparation consists chiefly of memorizing, and when studying is done for extrinsic reasons, then students make less progress in becoming autonomous individuals able to express their impulses and to tolerate complexity. Conversely, when more class time is devoted to open exchange, when class assignments require the exercise of higher mental activities, and when studying is done for intrinsic reasons, then development of autonomy, readiness to express impulses, and complexity of outlook increases.

Examining correlations with student-faculty relationships, the figures showed that at colleges where out-of-class contacts with faculty members were frequent, autonomy, impulse expression, and complexity increased. And it seems that the *amount* of time spent in conversations with advisors or with members of

Figure 3: Four-year change in "academic preferences and concerns"

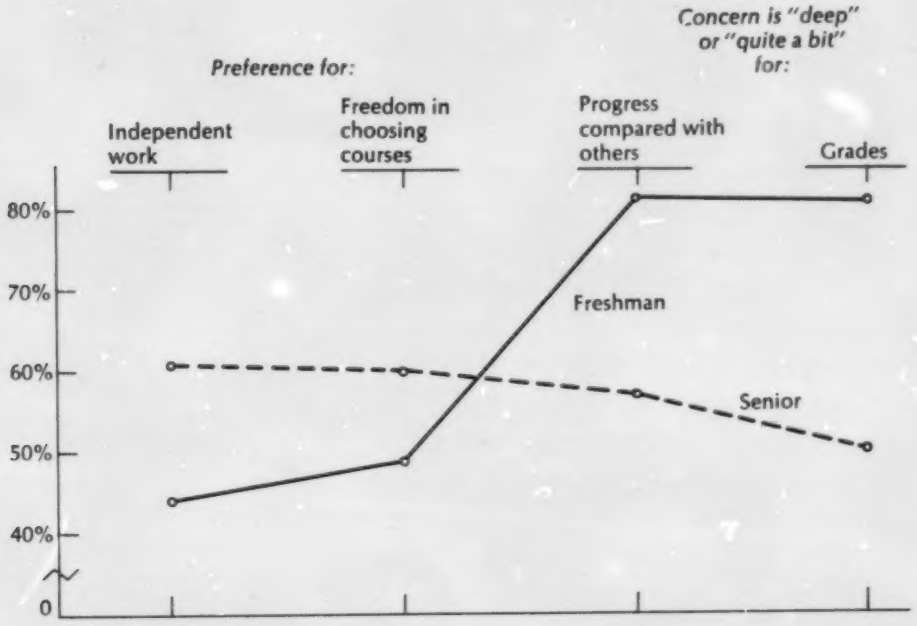
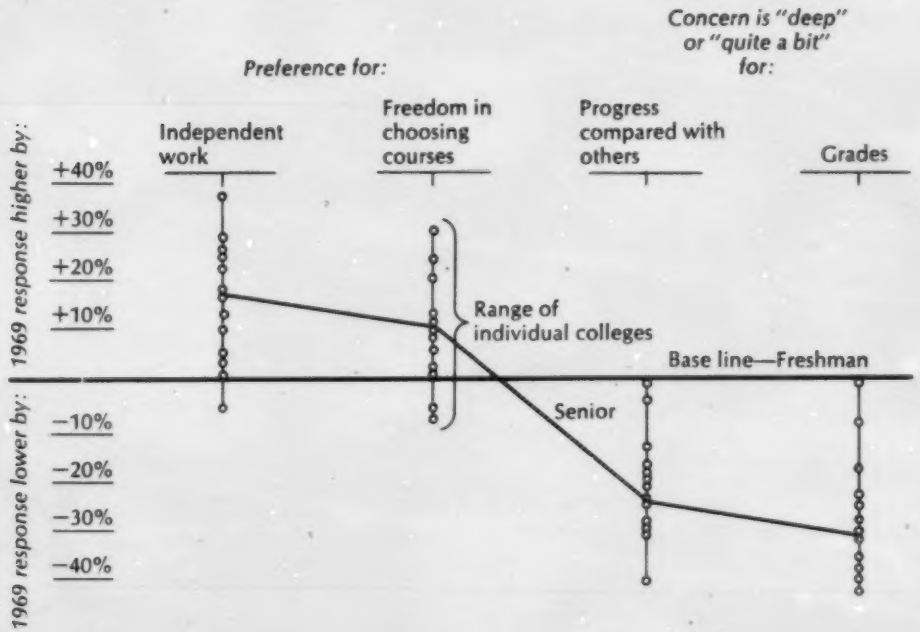


Figure 4: Increase or decrease of 1969 responses compared with 1965 responses in "academic preferences and concerns"



the faculty and administration seems to be less important than the *frequency and diversity* of contact. The most fruitful situation for student development seems to be one in which there is outside contact with several faculty members, even if only briefly.

I share these data, not to provide a comprehensive review of the findings, but to illustrate some basic points. First, although there are general directions of change that tend to occur during college, educational practices and institutional characteristics can accelerate or retard such changes. Second, to understand college impacts on student development we must go beyond simple measures of central tendency and examination of net change. Averages obliterate individuals. They fail to reveal the complex interactions that accompany developmental change. When we carry analyses to a level that examines relationships between particular types of students and particular types of learning environments, we find a good bit happening. Finally, it's important to recognize that the factors which influence student development are subject to institutional modification and control. Institutional policies and practices, and actions of faculty, administrators, and student personnel professionals can accelerate or retard significant dimensions of student development.

So far, then, I have argued that we *should* systematically address major dimensions of adult development: (1) because to do so is consistent with the traditional values and missions of colleges and universities; (2) because critical social conditions require higher levels of intellectual and ethical development, interpersonal competence, humanitarian concern, accompanied by professional and vocational preparation rooted in a solid sense of identity and purpose; and (3) because such an orientation can provide a unifying purpose for career education and liberal learning, integration of theory and practice, community and campus, curricular and extracurricular, individual and institutional self-renewal. Solid evidence indicates that educational experiences in colleges and universities have an impact and that we know enough to intentionally design activities and environments that will encourage such development.

In closing I want to address the difficult value issue involved in a decision to be explicit and intentional about adult development. For me it is essentially the issue of human engineering and social control.

1984 is just around the corner. Are we hastening its arrival? Organizing ourselves to make sure Orwell's society indeed comes to pass? Are we proposing a system that will basically serve the current establishment, cool out hot sources of social transformation, subtly develop more refined procedures for grading, classifying and reinforcing class and ethnic categories? These are real dangers. But I believe we should push ahead keeping them clearly in mind.

The basic reason to push ahead is that there really is no choice. It is not really a question of whether or not higher education should be in the business of human engineering and social control. It already is in that business. As Laurance Veysey says as he comes to the end of his seminal study, *The Emergence of the American University:*

> *The university in the United States had become largely an agency for social control. . . . The custodianship of popular values comprised the primary responsibility of the American University. It was to teach its students to think constructively rather than with an imprudent and disintegrative independence. It was to make its degrees into syndicated emblems of social and economic arrival. It was to promise, with repetitious care, that the investigations of its learned men were dedicated to the practical furtherance of the common*

> *welfare. It was to organize its own affairs to such a businesslike fashion as to reassure any stray industrialist or legislator who chanced onto its campus. It was to become a place prominently devoted to non-abstractive good fun: to singing and cheering, to the rituals of club life and 'appropriate' oratory; it was to be the place where the easy, infectious harmonies of brass band and stamping feet found few toes unwilling at least to tap in time. (pp. 440-441)*

In my judgment there is not much question as to whether our two- and four-year colleges and universities, public or private, church-related or not, are in the business of social control and shaping human lives. They are. They will continue to be. It is one of the fundamental reasons for their existence. It is the bedrock basis for state support, federal incentives, and tax-exempt status.

Given this fact, where am I left with my recommendations for intentional devotion to adult development as a unifying purpose? I am brought directly to questions like these. If increasing numbers of persons become aware of their life-cycle trajectories and thereby take more active part in creating their own futures, what then? If men and women throughout the life cycle become more aware of the opportunistic, conformist, conscientious, and autonomous dimensions of their own ego development, if they can recognize the limits of their dualistic thinking or unfettered relativism, in the perspective of more complex levels of intellectual and ethical development, how will their frameworks for judgment and action change? If they understand better the experiences that work for and against increased humanitarian concern, what experiences will they seek and to what ends? If they see more clearly the forces steering their own professional or vocational development and contemplate the pros and cons of alternative directions, what will result? If they develop increased interpersonal competence and capacity for intimacy will that development be turned toward manipulation and exploitation, or will it not? If they acquire more clear purposes, through better grasping the complex interactions among individual goals, institutional objectives and social values, what form will those purposes take?

My answer to those questions comes down on the positive side, both for individuals and for society. The evidence to date indicates that the direction of change in ego development is toward integrity, not toward opportunism, that ethical and intellectual development is toward contextual relativism, which places human welfare as the highest value. There is change toward increased intellectual competence and complexity, toward increased concern for collaborative inquiry modes and for intimate relationships that involve the expansion of caring. Individual purposes and identities do become more clear and strong; with age they are put in the larger perspectives of institutional objectives and social values.

Given the social forces and cultural contexts at play with all of us, we seldom reach those developmental goals we value. Our becoming typically falls short of that which we would become. But the striving is there in most of us. Thus it is that I argue for increased attention to those strivings, increased opportunities for each person to define more clearly those developmental issues and dimensions significant for him or her, increased devotion of institutional resources and expertise in the service of those purposes.

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Faculty and Student Development in the 80's: Renewing the Community Of Scholars

L. Lee Knefelkamp

It has been difficult to dettermine a beginning point for these observations concerning the community of scholars. It is a community I love, one that renews me, one that causes me concern because I hear in its multiple voices the sounds of alienation and accommodation as well as affirmation. I believe that a brief sampling of those voices may prove helpful to the purposes of this paper:

1. "I (and I don't think I am alone in this) become angry with myself for my ineffectualness, angry at the students for their apparent resistance or their acceptance of mediocrity, angriest at political conditions which dictate that we have to try and extend the fabric of language learning under conditions which tend to coarsen our apprehensions of everything." (Adrienne Rich in "Teaching Language in Open Admissions")
2. "There is no reason to expect that universities shaped by unplanned and incoherent social and cultural change would be designed for teaching; and they are not. There is no reason to expect that individuals entertained by parents at home and confined with teachers at school would be well prepared for higher learning; and they are not." (McLean 1979)
3. "I look into my students' eyes and I see deadness. And I do not know how to help them to be alive again." (professor at a faculty development meeting, 1980)
4. "Must we resign ourselves to remedial teaching forever? Is that what higher education has come to?" (professor at a different faculty development meeting, 1980)
5. "My work lies in the area of university administration, and I am convinced that the chief deterrant to running higher education today hinges on the eclipse of learning centered administration. Learning is all there is. Everything else that goes on takes its legitimacy and its urgency from the weight of the consideration of learning." (Godsey 1980)
6. "My first reaction to your comments is this—you are recognizing the outer skin of my inner being and you ask to probe deeper. . . . Strange,

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> but I think I felt a twinge of pain. I never realized that I had any barrier of any significance. Interesting, you ask of me the same questions I ask of myself." (university student responding in a logbook)

These voices from our community represent multiple views of the purposes of higher education, and behind each voice is an identity seeking recognition, fulfillment, and meaning in the environment of the campus; seeking "the sweetness of community after the lean loneliness of its absence" (Kegan 1976). While in our community we have always had multiple voices, reflective of our multiple roles, I believe that we now suffer from more separation and fragmentation than ever before. Faced with severe limitations in terms of finances, prestige, and influence and the pressures those limitations have brought to the campus, our sense of mutuality has been severely shaken and is in danger of being replaced by a retreat to rigid role definitions and increased fragmentation. The reality of limitations is an issue confronting our entire society; it is not an issue that Americans have faced very well in the past; its existence is contrary to our view of our society and place in the world. Faced with limitations we often consolidate into peer groups to attempt to get the best of the most of what is available.

Universities are no different. We face financial limitations, increased group competition for available resources and perquisites, and limitations of real power and influence. Each layer of our administrative structures views itself as having less power than the layer above it. And despite a recent ruling by the Supreme Court, most faculty do not see themselves as management and are passionately concerned about the loss of influence over curriculum, admissions, and quality control. The normal creative tension of a college or university environment can quickly turn to open hostility among the groups that compose the community when those groups are placed in direct competition with one another.

Erik Erikson, a brilliant observer of our society, our institutions, and the process of human development, has demonstrated that environments characterized by mistrust, doubt, limitation, feelings of inferiority and powerlessness are environments that contribute to identity confusion and inhibit the development of the mature personality or institution. The mature personality or institution is characterized by the qualities of hope, the capacity to act within limitations, purposefulness, the freedom to be responsive, a sense of competence, confidence, and a sense of ethics. But most importantly, the mature person or institution is characterized by the capacity for generativity, the capacity and the ability to care for that which we have created: children, knowledge, students, faculty, staff, entire institutions. I am concerned that our colleges and universities are in danger of becoming non-generative, that environmental conditions that Erikson describes as being non-developmental are present on our campuses today, and are influencing how we act toward ourselves and our students. Let me cite a few examples:

Misuse of the student-as-consumer. It has been demonstrated that careful attending to students and student needs has resulted in better, more accessible, and more varied programs and facilities on our campuses. Clearly the case can be made that more, not less, needs to be done to make our campuses truly responsive to the great diversity in the modern student body. Yet we need to remain attentive to the ethical issues inherent in consumerism. We need more comprehensive planning to enable the total campus to be responsive. Admitting large numbers of previously excluded students without mechanisms to make the entire campus—faculty, teaching, advising, services, fellow students—more responsive results in a revolving door policy that contributes short-term financial gain to the university but long-term confirmation of failure to the students involved. Inappropriate

advertising campaigns launched to admit students at any cost, reduce the prospective student to an object and campuses to interchangeable commodities. Our own research tells us that there are vast differences in campus environments and that what prospective students really need is guidance in helping them to analyze themselves, their needs, their interest patterns, and to use this information in choosing a college environment that best "matches" them. I am concerned that our response to declining enrollments and increasing expenditures will result in Madison Avenue admissions practices that will be in conflict with our ideals of human development and diversity.

The quantification of higher education. One of the most difficult issues facing higher education is to make the distinction between learning as *only* quantitative —accumulation of information, credits, grade points—and learning as qualitative— the development of complexity of thinking to be used in a wide variety of contexts to analyze complex situations and to make decisions for action. I ask you to reflect on board of education and legislative debates in your state to see how pervasive this problem is. And I ask us all to reflect on the ways we in higher education "package" our product in the public mind to determine whether or not we contribute to our own problems. We live in a society that values education as a means of self-improvement and upward mobility, on the one hand, and underfinances it on the other. If learning is perceived as accumulation of information, then the act, the art of teaching is reduced to information exchange and teachers become interchangeable commodities to be purchased as inexpensively as possible. A society or an institution of higher education that views learning and teaching in that manner will receive that manner of learning and teaching. The tragedy of a society or institution that doesn't appreciate learning or respect its teachers is that ultimately it does not respect its own children.

The challenge of new students. The integrity of American higher education is grounded firmly in its responsiveness to new and diverse populations. Each major sociological expansion in society has resulted in new students entering the college population and influence the curriculum and goals of higher education. At no previous time, however, have we been faced with such overwhelming heterogeneity in our student body. We have a greater diversity of age, race, sex, intellectual ability, and academic preparation than ever before. The complexities this diversity brings to the average classroom are almost overwhelming. But I would like to focus briefly on the newest type of "new student"—the students defined by Patricia Cross (1971) as being in the lower one-third of academic ability by all measures of student ability and achievement. Although minority students are represented in the group, the majority of "new students" are white. They are primarily students from lower socio-economic families having no previous history with higher education. They come to us succeeding best at concrete learning tasks, failing frequently at abstract tasks such as reading about, talking about, writing about theoretical subject matter. They have high needs for structure, personal attention, immediate feedback on performance, and education to directly result in vocational choice and economic improvement. They come, in short, to campus and faculty environments that do not know who they are.

Whatever our own socio-economic background, most of us who are faculty were in the upper one-third of academic ability; we liked the vicarious tasks of learning; we liked them so much we never left the campus. Indeed, learning became at once a means to achieving our vocational goals and our vocation itself. The classroom environments we create are rewarding to us and to students like us, but are often sources of great punishment and frustration for the "new students."

They, in turn, are sources of frustration and challenge for us. We love our subject matter and want them to love it too—for the pure pleasure of exercising their minds. We want to be good teachers and feel a deep sense of pain when we don't "succeed." Clearly this problem can also be true of more traditional students. In either case, the classroom can be reduced to an environment of enormous threat to the sense of self of both the student and the faculty member.

Generativity and the purpose of higher education

I am concerned that we are in danger of becoming a higher education community characterized by non-generativity and by the inability to hear each others' voices. We are in danger of concentrating so intensely on the pressures and the stresses of the environment that we run the risk of losing our sense of mutuality and our sense of common purpose: the "concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" which is the "capstone" of maturity in Browning's analysis of Erikson and the concept of maturity in his remarkable book *Generative Man*. Browning reminds us that the generative perspective affirms the mutuality of human beings regardless of roles, that it centers on the qualities of hope, will, purpose, and competence and attempts to pass these along to the next generation. Generative institutions are involved with teaching the next generation . . . of children . . . of scholars . . . of leaders . . . of citizens. Generative institutions see the present as a link between the past and the future and so are involved with scholarship as a way of allowing the young scholar to be a part of the intellectual history of his field and feel a sense of confidence about contributing to the field's future. But most importantly of all, generativity is a process that is "guided by the nature of that which must be cared for" (Browning 1973). "The nature of that which must be cared for" includes the nature of administrators, of faculties, of students and their developmental issues. If we cannot hear each others' voices, we cannot be guided by each others' natures. Browning describes the non-generative state:

> *For it is irresponsible creativity devoid of a quality of enduring care that is man's grandest temptation and greatest fault, not only throughout all of his history but most specifically during modern times. The real problem with man's Promethean will is not that he aspires to do too much, but aspires to do more than he is able or willing to care for.*
>
> *This is the essence of Erikson's startling interpretation of modernity. The problem of modern man is his nongenerative mentality—his inability to care for what he creates, what he generates. We see it in the way he treats his children, builds his buildings, conducts his science experiments with his technology, and ravishes his environment. But for modern man, his generativity has degenerated into mere creativeness, experimentation, and inventiveness; it has become torn apart from that deeper capacity for care which completes and limits the truly generative impulse. Modern man appears to be generative because he creates so much; in reality his problem is his nongenerative mentality which is seen in the fact that he cares so poorly for that which he creates.* (pp. 164-5)

We must ask ourselves:

1. Do we admit more students than we can care for?
2. Do we hire faculty with the economic knowledge that we can only retain a few?

3. Do the demands placed on younger faculty inhibit their capacity for generativity with their students?
4. Have we contributed to the isolation of generations of faculty and staff and thus inhibited the role-modeling of cross-generational cooperation for students?
5. Do we equally reward the passing on of knowledge as much as its creation?
6. Do we equally reward departments that exercise quality control as much as new and potentially faddish programs?
7. Are we people who differ in roles and perspectives but who can unite in the common purpose of "establishing and guiding the next generation?"
8. Do we role-model the qualities we wish emulated by the next generation?
9. Do we hear each others' voices?
10. Can generativity become our common purpose?
11. Is generativity a sufficient concept to allow all our differing voices to join together?

I believe that it is not only possible, but necessary for our survival as a community that we join together in the rediscovery of generativity. Generative people believe in institutions like higher education. They live with them, care for them, and maintain them. And they do this for the next generation. That force of life and love and care that is given to the next generation (of scholars whatever their age, of young people, of faculty and staff) is returned by them to the institution. "When institutions actively contribute to the strength of the young, they in turn will receive energy and devotion from the young" (Browning 1973, p. 205).

What does generativity require? Not a victory of one group/one voice within the community over another, but a synthesis. Not alienation from our institutions, students, selves, nor an accommodation to our difficulties, but an affirmation of our total educational purposes—the whole student—and an affirmation of the necessity of drawing upon our mutuality. Not a fragmentation or separation of our roles, but a recognition of our mutual need, what Martin Buber calls the "I/Thou." And finally, not a resolution of all our conflicts, but a resolution, a commitment to continue despite our conflicts.

If generativity is to be a meaningful central mission of the community of scholars in higher education, we will need to refocus our energies on the student. In a sense they will become both our renewed purpose for being and our new curriculum. We need to hear their voice, know who they are. Most of us weren't educated to hear that voice no matter how humane and generative our intentions. We were educated in our subject matter and socialized to hear the voices of our own generations. And we each view the institution through the metaphors of our own disciplines and speak in a context and language inherent to our disciplines. We need to replace competition with care because we need each other to make meaning of our roles and to help students make meaning in their lives. And we need to have a common language so that we may speak with one another about our purpose, about our students, about the "nature of that which is to be cared for"—about ourselves. I believe that the language of student development theory can become our common language.

Student development theory: source of a possible common language

During the last decade we have witnessed the rediscovery, creation, or validation of a great diversity of theories of student development. These models offer us the possibility of a common context through which to view and understand our

students and a common language with which we can communicate about them. Perhaps never before in the history of higher education have students and their development been so thoroughly examined. A recent review of these theories (Knefelkamp, Widick, Parker 1978) has demonstrated that the theories can be clustered into groups, each of which "provides a useful vantage point from which to view college students" (p. xi) and contains clear implications for the developmental design of our campuses, classrooms, and student personnel services.

Each group or cluster describes elements or environmental conditions that facilitate the student's movement toward maturity. These elements can be described as being both challenging and supporting of the student in such a way as to facilitate development towards intellectual, interpersonal, and personal maturity (Sanford 1966). Indeed, inherent in each student development model are implications for the design of a developmentally enhancing community. The maturity end goals described by each of the theories are remarkably similar to the end goals of higher education itself: the facilitation of human beings who can reason as well as read; who possess insight as well as knowledge; who have the capacity for empathy and ethical conduct; who recognize, appreciate, and are not threatened by individual differences; and who have developed the interpersonal skills and thinking processes necessary for living in a complex and diverse society. Below is a brief overview of each of the clusters of theories; a bibliography of major sources for each cluster is found at the end of this paper.

Psychosocial theories. (Erikson, Chickering, Katz, Kenison, Marcia, Sanford, Levinson, Gould, Neugarten, and Vaillant). These models provide a view of the most salient identity issues and tasks of our students, "what decisions, concerns, needs would be of primary concern, and what skills and/or attitudes would need to be developed in order to makes decisions and cope with the various tasks" (Knefelkamp, Widick, Parker 1978, p. xii). These models are particularly useful in helping us distinguish between the issues and concerns of traditional-age students and those of the older student. In addition, an understanding of the issues and concerns of students may be helpful to instructors who want to enable students to use the knowledge and processes of the subject matter in areas of life beyond the classroom.

Cognitive developmental theories. (Piaget, Kohlberg, Perry, Harvey, Hunt). These models focus on how students think; how they receive and interpret information; how they make meaning of the learning process in the classroom. "Development is seen as a sequence of irreversible stages involving shifts in the process by which individuals perceive and reason about their world. The process of developmental change is seen as interactive: Individuals encounter problems, dilemmas, or ideas which cause cognitive conflict that demands that they accommodate or change their way of thinking to a more adequate form" (Knefelkamp et al. 1978, p. xii). Faculty members often find these models to be the most helpful to them in their attempts to understand how the students are interpreting the classroom and the subject matter, and how the classroom can be designed to make the learning process more developmentally enhancing for the student.

In particular, the work of William G. Perry, Jr. has proved to be useful to faculty because of the description the Perry Scheme provides of the *college-student-as-learner:* how the student interprets and makes sense of the classroom environment, how the student views knowledge and the process of learning, how the student understands the roles of professor and student, and what intellectual tasks can be understood and mastered given the student's level of complexity along the scheme.

Maturity theories. (Loevinger, D. Heath). These models do not separate the parts of the whole student for individual focus and examination; instead they have as a major underlying concept the holistic and interactive nature of development. While other theorists would agree with interactionism and holism, the maturity theorists are our most constant reminder that the various areas of development of the self (intellectual, interpersonal, ethical, personal concept) do not exist separately from one another, and that movement toward maturity (or its lack) in one area can affect movement in another. These models are constant reminders that the students who enter our classrooms to learn content and critical thinking skills are also being exposed to issues of career and religious development, values clarification stimuli, and differences in lifestyle and belief systems while they are on campus. The models also indicate that movement towards greater complexity or maturity in the intellectual realm (that area of the self theorized to be central to the classroom) can have great effect on the other realms of the student's life.

Typology theories. (R. Heath, Cross, Newcomb, Clark and Trow). These models are a source of information about individual differences and how such factors as personality temperament and sociological influences may interact with the developmental process. "The typology theorists help us identify how different individuals may manage, delay, progress through, or retreat from developmental tasks. These models suggest that there are persistent individual differences—such as cognitive style, temperament, or ethnic background—which interact with development" (Knefelkamp et al. 1978, p. xiii). These models are a source of knowledge about individual types/styles that may be critical to our understanding of differing sources of reward and punishment for students who otherwise have similar abilities and concerns.

Person-environment theories. (Holland, Pace and Stern, Lewin). These models contribute to our understanding of the student by their emphasis on the necessity of seeing the student as interacting with the environment, both influencing and being influenced by the elements within the environment. Individual development is either made possible or enhanced by an environment that provides the appropriate elements or balance of challenge and support; it is truncated or delayed by an environment characterized by overwhelming challenge without sufficient support or by an environment characterized by overwhelming support and little or no challenge (Sanford 1966). Person-environment theorists also assume that an individual who exists in an environment that is a good match for his needs and abilities will likely be more productive and happier than if he worked in an environment that did not match his needs. Individuals in mismatched environments often leave the environment or become less able to do work well within it.

The study of student development theories enables the faculty member to better understand both how the student thinks about the classroom and process of learning and how the student is likely to be feeling about himself in relation to that process. This understanding of both the cognitive and the affective characteristics of students is what Leona Tyler has defined as empathy. She adds the necessity of communicating that understanding to the student for the empathic process to be considered complete. One way of communicating our understanding of the student to the student is in the design of classroom environments that "match" the cognitive levels and relate to the personal issues of students. The theoretical model that has been most helpful to me in the attempt to understand and design classrooms "guided by the nature" of the students is the work of Perry.

The Perry scheme of intellectual and ethical development

Perry (1970) and his associates at Harvard University have derived a cognitive stage framework focusing upon intellectual and ethical development which is elegantly descriptive of how the college student approaches the learning environment. Nine positions or stages, each representing a qualitatively different mode of thinking about the nature of knowledge, make up the Perry model. The positions tend to be reflected in the students' perceptions of the teacher's role and the role of the student-as-learner. The nine positions are grouped into four categories: dualism, multiplicity, relativism, and commitment within relativism.

Dualism. The first two positions represent a view of knowledge as dualistic. All knowledge is assumed either known or knowable, and the learner views himself as a receptacle ready to receive Truth from the Authority instructor. The student views knowledge as information/facts and the learning process as one of information exchange. Thus, the responsibility of the student-as-learner consists of learning the information and demonstrating to the instructor that the facts have been mastered. The student has difficulty with academic tasks that require recognition of conflicting points of view or those that require critical analysis, reflection, and comparative thinking.

> *Position 1:* "The student sees the world in polar terms of we-right-good versus others-wrong-bad. Right Answers for everything exist absolutely and are known to Authority whose role is to teach them." (Perry 1970, p. 9)
> *Position 2:* "The student perceives diversity of opinion, and uncertainty, and accounts for them as unwarranted confusion in poorly qualified Authorities or as exercises set by Authority "so we can learn to find The Answer for ourselves." (p. 9)

Students in these dualistic positions are made uneasy by the existence of multiples in learning. They often react with confusion and doubt, wondering what learning is really about and how they will master the new and strange task of working with multiple concepts and perspectives. They have difficulty with the issue of interpretation; a poem means what it says . . . or at the very least means what the author says it says . . . but it couldn't possibly mean what an untutored student says. On the other hand, the dualistic thinking student is often excited and wonderous at the new world of knowledge that is opening before him.

Multiplicity. Positions Three and Four represent the broadening of the student's view. More diversity, more multiples are seen by the student and now must be accounted for. At first (in Position Three), this diversity is seen exclusively in terms of quantity. The student is concerned with amounts—time spent on preparation, number of pages to be written or read, how much weight will be given to different evaluative areas in a particular course. Evaluation becomes a major issue for students in this position; they become concerned with the issue of fairness in grading, with reward for hard work, with the instructor's ability to grade fairly even in areas where all the facts are not known. In the latter phase of multiplicity, Position Four, the student is more comfortable with quantity issues and with the fact that there are many, many areas of knowledge that are not "known." The positive manifestation of this phase is found in the student's ability to learn how to produce supportive evidence and to learn how to apply processes or methods for making sense or ordering the confusion.

A less positive, though natural, manifestation of this position is what Perry has referred to as the "do your own thing" perspective. The student has discovered the broadness of the ambiguity in knowledge, has *not* yet learned about context

and contextual, considered judgment, and suddenly finds freedom in the perspective that "everyone has a right to his own opinion." Perry carefully illustrates that everyone having a right to his own opinion is the equivalent of all opinions being equally good or equally bad. This is an academic license that does not distinguish between an opinion and a well supported opinion (Perry 1970, p. 100). Unfortunately, this multiplistic way of thinking (which is still a form of dualism) has often been confused wtih "relativism." Perry is consistent and clear about the difference. Contextual relativism involves the student in analyzing, using rules of evidence, studying criteria, and making thoughtful judgments and decisions in the face of legitimate and considered alternatives. Multiplicity precedes that level of complexity, is a necessary step to complexity, but should not be confused with that level of complexity. "Do your own thing" is not a form of thoughtful contextual relativism. As students move through the positions they take on new levels of personal responsibility in the learning process and view the critical issues of learning very differently. The student who views learning through the filter of Position Two asks: What do they want me to learn? A student at Position Three asks: How do you want me to learn in order to find the answer? A student at Position Four asks: How do you want me to think? A student at Position Five asks: How can we make sense out of all of this and evaluate ourselves and the subject matter?

> *Position 3:* "The student accepts diversity and uncertainty as legitimate but still temporary in areas where Authority "hasn't found The Answer yet." He supposes Authority grades him in these areas on "good expression" but remains puzzled as to standards." (p. 9)
> *Position 4:* (a) The student perceives legitimate uncertainty (and therefore diversity of opinion) to be extensive and raises it to the status of an unstructured epistemological realm of its own in which "anyone has a right to his own opinion," a realm which he sets over against Authority's realm where right-wrong still prevails, or (b) the student discovers qualitative contextual relativistic reasoning as a special case of "what They want" within Authority's realm.

Relativism. Contextual relativism is marked by what Perry refers to as a "revolution" in the thought structure of the student. "Relativism is perceived as the common characteristic of all thought, all knowing, all of man's relation to his world." Against this ground, dualistic right-or-wrong thinking, and even "ideas of absolutes" become special cases *in the new relativistically structured context.* Relativistic thinking gradually becomes habitual. "This seems to occur first in those specific courses or situations in which the student has perceived such thinking as appropriate" (Perry 1970, p. 111). The student has now begun to master the tasks of analysis and synthesis and can use them to work with academic and non-academic material. The student is comfortable with differing perspectives and has the tools (or the means of acquiring the tools) with which to make judgments about the viewpoints.

Students in contextual relativism often evidence a marked increase in the appreciation of individual differences and in the capacity for empathy. They are able to separate a critique of their work from criticism of themselves as people. They have developed a capacity for objectivity and for seeing themselves as members of a community of learners that values thoughtful inquiry and expertise over title and position. The sense of relativism of knowledge may result in the loss of old certainties and may result in the experience of being lost and alone in a chaotic world. Thus, the student may reflect his learning back upon himself and question the foundations of meaning in his own life.

Movement from Positions Four to Five, and to Six, creates an awareness that much of what "truth" the student "creates" will emerge from his own experience and judgment as well as external factors. In Position Six, the student has realized that one of the ways to order chaos is to make commitments. The student is confronted with the realization that he will have to choose who he is and who he will become, and that the choice of one "self" means not to choose a different, also legitimate, self. This realization and the sense of loss that accompanies it results in the student "temporizing" a while in the position while readying himself for the effort of making a commitment.

> *Position 5:* "The student perceives all knowledge and values (including Authority's) as contextual and relativistic, and subordinates dualistic right-wrong functions to the status of a special case, in context." (p. 9)
> *Position 6:* "The student apprehends the necessity of orienting himself in a relativistic world through some form of personal Commitment (which is distinguished from unexamined commitment)." (p. 9)

Commitment in relativism. During Positions Seven, Eight, and Nine, the student gradually accepts the responsibility of the pluralistic world and acts by Commitment to establish and affirm his identity. Commitment requires that there are legitimate alternatives to be considered, that the individual goes through doubt, and that the act of Commiting is a statement of self. Commitment has two forms: content and style. Position Seven is generally the "content" position in which the student commits to a career, a set of values, a life style. The stylistic considerations come to the fore in Positions Eight and Nine when the individual recognizes that Commitments "do not settle as much as they seem to promise" (Perry 1970, p. 158) and often confront one with the many paradoxical personal themes that are a legitimate part of the self. Individuals at these positions understand that identity resolution requires the constant seeking and creating of a point of equilibrium for the self. They often seek new areas to explore. (A review of the last three positions in the context of career development can be found in Knefelkamp and Slepitza 1976).

> *Position 7:* "The student makes an initial Commitment in some area." (p. 10)
> *Position 8:* "The student experiences the implications of Commitment and explores the issues of responsibility." (p. 10)
> *Position 9:* "The student experiences the affirmation of identity among multiple responsibilities and realizes Commitment as an ongoing, unfolding activity through which he expresses his life style." (p. 10)

Perry's discussion of the Commitment positions has much to say to a community of scholars. He emphasizes the students' need to "brush up against faculty to find out if they are real" and to use faculty as sources of role modeling and hope . . . hope that despite loneliness, they can make meaning in their lives; hope that despite the risks of uncertainty in nearly everything, they can dare to enter into relationships with loved ones; hope that the sense of individuality that has been so newly discovered is also compatible with a sense of community.

Conditions of delay, deflection, and regression. Perry discusses the conditions of delay (Temporizing), deflection (Escape), and regression (Retreat) that were found to exist. Each of these conditions is given in-depth treatment in the original report of the model (Perry 1970), and only a brief set of definitions is reprinted here:

Temporizing: The student delays in some Position for a year, exploring its implication or explicitly hesitating to take the next step. (p. 10)
Escape: The student exploits the opportunity for detachment offered by the structures of Positions Four and Five to deny responsibility through passive or opportunistic alienation.
Retreat: The student entrenches in the dualistic, absolutistic structures of Positions Two or Three.

The strength of the model: the students' voice

The strength of the model lies in the careful listening that Perry and his associates did to hundreds of students during the course of their investigation of how students made meaning of the educational experience. What was heard was the students' voice, and what was heard eventually took the form of a developmental scheme that is descriptive of the qualitatively different ways students view knowledge and the roles of teacher and student. "We gradually came to feel that we could detect behind the individuality of the reports a common sequence of challenges to which each student addressed himself in his own particular way" (Perry 1970, p. 8). Further work with the model has revealed the implications of the model for students' differing perspectives on the role of peers in the learning process, the issue of evaluation, the sources of challenge and support for students of differing positions, and the intellectual tasks of which students of differing positions are capable.

The model assumes the sequential and hierarchical assumptions of cognitive developmental theory. That is, the nine positions of the model are found in an invariant sequence; movement along the continuum of the model reflects increasing complexity of thought. The positions are organized in epigenetic, hierarchical relationship to one another; each position is a necessary building block for the position to come and each one contains the qualities of the previous. Similar to other cognitive models (most notably, Kohlberg), research has shown that students do not understand the thinking and reasoning processes of positions above them on the hierarchy. Students do, however, understand the thinking and reasoning processes that they have already gone through. The implications of this for understanding why faculty and students often have difficulty understanding each other are clear: Students thinking dualistically cannot comprehend when addressed relativistically and panic; students thinking relativistically comprehend very well when addressed dualistically and get bored" (Perry 1980).

Inherent in this essentially cognitive model is the critical *affective* assumption that learning is an ego-threatening task. Perry repeatedly calls our attention to the courage of the student and the faculty's responsibility to acknowledge and confirm: "Finally, the study makes salient the courage required of the student in each step in his development. This demand upon courage implies a reciprocal obligation for the educational community: to recognize the student in his courage and to confirm the membership he achieves as he assumes the risks of each forward movement. This is a creative obligation: to find ways to encourage" (Perry 1970, p. 215). The model is descriptive of the students' sources of confusion and challenge and sources of support in the learning process. Prescriptive work in the area of instructional design (Widick, Knefelkamp, Parker 1975) has demonstrated that faculty can differentially design the instructional process to better "match" the students' capacity to make meaning. The design of learning environments around the characteristics of challenge and support illuminated by research with the Perry Scheme allows faculty to make the learning accessible to the student, allows faculty members to speak the student's

language, to demonstrate that they know and care who the student is; and may well foster increased satisfaction and subject matter mastery.

I believe it is the pragmatic possibilities that come from greater insight into how the students approach learning that has made Perry's model so helpful to faculty development programs around the country. As Perry has said: "Faculty development begins with an understanding of student development; students are our common purpose" (Perry 1980). Perry's trust in the students' voice is as clear as his commitment to their intellectual and ethical development. Adrienne Rich (1979) states it eloquently: "Finally, as to trust: I think that simple as it may seem, it is worth saying a fundamental belief in students is more important than anything else. This fundamental belief is not a sentimental matter: it is a very demanding matter of realistically conceiving the student where he or she is, and at the same time never losing sight of where he or she can be." I believe that our trust in the students' voice and our attention to the hard work of confirming them by the deliberate design of developmental environments will allow us all to recognize and confirm the students' uniqueness and give definition and support to their possibilities and potential.

Renewal of the community of scholars

I believe that the meaning of higher education is found in the generations of students we help to maturity. We can come to understand our roles as including what we contribute to the next generation: to their knowledge; their reverence for scholarship and for life; their ability to commit themselves; their maturity; and their ability and willingness to care for their own next generation.

I believe that we will renew our sense of community through the process of recognizing our students, hearing their voice, seeing them as our own future, and seeing them as the daily, holy, pragmatic focus of our every action. And I believe that in rediscovering our students we will rediscover the best parts of ourselves: our capacity for wonder, for seeing our disciplines new and fresh again, as if for the first time, through our students' eyes; our capacity for mutuality with other staff members in the community; our capacity to make meaning with our students—to convey to them that they are necessary to the classroom not because their presence pays the bills, but because there can be no meaning made without them; our capacity to be vulnerable, to recognize that if learning is an ego-threatening task, so too is teaching and counseling and administering and programming; our capacity to be courageous, to continue to teach and counsel and administer and program even if we are vulnerable and there are no guarantees of success; finally, our capacity to work and create and rejoice in a generative community of scholars.

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